

## ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

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APRIL 25, 1947.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Mr. EATON, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 2616]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the bill, as amended, do pass.

#### PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The principal purpose of this bill is to aid Greece and Turkey to survive as free and independent nations. These two countries have been, and are, subject to unusual pressures which threaten the peaceful existence of the Greek and Turkish peoples and their right to maintain their freedom and their national integrity. This bill recognizes our concern and our responsibility for the maintenance of peace which caused us to take a leading part in the establishment of the United Nations. It constitutes an affirmative promotion of peace and is based on our belief that the foundations of international peace and the security of the United States are jeopardized whenever totalitarian regimes are imposed on free peoples, whether by direct or indirect aggression.

#### SITUATION IN GREECE AND TURKEY

##### *Greece*

Acting Secretary of State Acheson said (p. 7 of the hearings) that—

The general situation in Greece has been known to the Department for the last 20 years. It is nothing new, so far as the situation in Greece is concerned. What is new about it is that we were informed by the British Government on the 24th of February, in a note dated February 21, that they would have to discontinue their financial aid at the end of this fiscal year of theirs, which is March 31.

There have also been some critical new developments in Greece which are new since Mr. Porter's arrival there (January 18, 1947). Those are matters of detail.

\* \* \* we have \* \* \* a letter from the then Prime Minister of Greece, of the 26th of December, in which he points out the growing crisis in Greece.

We have known that this crisis has been coming on for, of course, some time.

Any observer of Greek conditions knew that and that was why we sent Mr. Porter to Greece.

The Greek Government on March 3, 1947, sent the United States an urgent appeal for financial, economic, and expert assistance. This appeal followed notes received by our Government on February 24, 1947, from the British Government, notifying us that it could no longer provide the aid it had been giving or had planned to give Greece.

Acting Secretary of State Acheson also testified (p. 2 of the hearings) that—

Greece's difficulties are not new. But they have become acute as a result of special circumstances.

Long before the war Greece had a hard time making ends meet. Her poverty of natural resources is so great that she has always needed more imports than she could pay for with exports. Only by hand-to-mouth contriving has she been able to maintain a precarious balance in her international economic position. In the past much of her export trade naturally went to central European markets, particularly to Germany; during the thirties she was forced into closer dependence on Germany through clearing agreements and other instruments of Nazi economic warfare.

And then came the Italian invasion, the German invasion, 4 years of cruel enemy occupation, and the scorching of her earth by the retreating enemy. Perhaps no other country in the world has suffered greater destruction of its physical resources than Greece.

The ravages of war left Greece in a catastrophic economic condition. Her ability to produce, either for home consumption or for export, had been seriously impaired and her entire fiscal system had been destroyed. The Greek civil service and administrative system had been "gravely impaired through starvation and by death, and undermined by infiltration of undesirable elements, demoralized by infiltration and the resultant scramble for existence." (Statement by Acting Secretary of State Acheson, p. 2 of the hearings.)

During the war, the Allies helped to organize and equip many thousands of Greeks, who fought valiantly and incessantly against the common enemy.

In the course of the struggle, at the request of the Allied High Command, the Greeks themselves demolished many of their public works in an effort to halt the common foe. Most of these resistance bands disbanded after the war. However, Communist leaders succeeded in gaining control of a number of bands, and have contributed to the disorder and economic disruption by their marauding raids on the civilian population. These armed bands receive support from the small but well-organized Greek Communist Party and its affiliates. The Greek Government has charged before the Security Council of the United Nations that these insurgents receive supplies and training from neighboring countries. A commission has been appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations and has been investigating these charges.

Before the war, a few bandits existed in the mountainous sections of Greece, but they never attacked the Government and did not constitute a serious menace. At the present time, the bandits are subversive tools in the hands of an international body which is tremendously strong, strong not only in arms and money, but in propaganda activities all over the world to keep world opinion from getting an accurate picture of the facts.

*Turkey*

The situation in Turkey differs substantially, but she has found it necessary during recent months to apply to the United States for financial aid, and her needs have been increased by the withdrawal of British assistance.

During his testimony before the committee, Acting Secretary of State Acheson said:

The Turkish Army has been mobilized since the beginning of World War II and this has put a severe strain upon the national economy. During the war Turkey received substantial assistance from Great Britain and the United States which helped her to carry this load.

Today, the Turkish economy is no longer able to carry the full load required for its national defense and at the same time proceed with that economic development which is necessary to keep the country in sound condition. With some help from the United States, and further assistance which Turkey may be able to negotiate with United Nations financial organs, Turkey should be in a position to continue the development of her own resources and increase her productivity, while at the same time maintaining her national defenses at a level necessary to protect her freedom and independence.

Turkey is being subjected to severe external pressure which has forced her to maintain large armed forces for defense purposes. This pressure includes repeated demands for the separation of certain portions of eastern Turkey from the rest of the country, and demands for bases which would virtually give Russia military control of the Dardanelles. The collapse and subjugation of Turkey would, in the opinion of our highest military experts, almost inevitably follow, and would involve the speedy collapse and subjugation of the entire Middle East. This would greatly compromise the strategic position of the United States and aggravate the danger to world peace.

## AMOUNT AND KIND OF ASSISTANCE PROPOSED

This bill authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed \$400,000,000 and authorizes the President "when he deems it in the interests of the United States" to extend financial and other assistance to Greece and Turkey, "upon request of their governments." Such assistance may take the following forms: (1) Financial aid such as loans, grants, and credits; (2) detail of persons in the employ of the United States Government; (3) a limited number of military personnel in an advisory capacity only; (4) articles, services, and information; and (5) instruction and training of personnel in these two countries.

*Greece*

It is planned to make \$150,000,000 available to Greece for arms, ammunition, rations, clothing, and other supplies and equipment for the Greek armed forces for the period ending June 30, 1948. This sum, it is estimated, would permit the Greek Army to maintain operations against the Communist-led armed bands during 1947 and to maintain forces thereafter of sufficient strength to maintain order.

An additional \$150,000,000 is intended for civilian reconstruction and rehabilitation in Greece. Of this sum, \$20,000,000 would be spent for agricultural rehabilitation. UNRRA has sent some livestock, farm machinery, food-processing equipment, etc., but Greece is in urgent need of additional assistance for these purposes and for repairs equipment and fishing equipment in order to enable her to increase her agricultural output for domestic consumption and for foreign-exchange producing exports.

The Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. Clayton, testified (pp. 66, 67, and 68 of the hearings) that in addition to the amount of \$20,000,000 for agricultural rehabilitation, \$50,000,000 would be spent for reconstruction and \$80,000,000 for consumer goods. The break-down of the \$50,000,000 for reconstruction would be \$10,000,000 for roads, \$11,000,000 for railroads, \$3,000,000 for the ports, \$5,000,000 for public utilities and communications, \$8,000,000 for reclamation and irrigation, \$6,000,000 for industry, \$2,000,000 for mines, and \$5,000,000 for housing.

High priority is also to be given to restoration of electric utilities and communications systems. In order to prevent loss of agricultural output and further deterioration, the various flood-control, irrigation, and water-control projects also require restoration as promptly as possible. The Nazis removed or wantonly destroyed much industrial equipment which must be replaced. A wide variety of supplies and equipment, together with technical services, will be required to restore Greek production to prewar levels.

#### *Turkey*

The sum of \$100,000,000 is recommended to be expended for purposes which will contribute to the security of Turkey. No part of this amount would be for normal civilian supply purposes. The Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. Clayton, testified (p. 68 of the hearings) that:

\* \* \* the latest information available indicates that Turkey has sufficient resources to finance the essential requirements of her civilian economy. It also appears that Turkey should in due time be able to procure through existing credit channels part of the additional resources required for a program of general economic development. However, Turkey urgently needs military and other capital equipment which she herself cannot at present procure without seriously impairing her general economic position. The necessity for assisting Turkey in bearing the burdens of her military defense is very real and an immediate beginning should be made.

Included in the assistance proposed for Turkey would be equipment for her armed forces, and funds for related projects of military significance. To the extent that further studies may indicate desirable, these may include the rehabilitation of the Turkish railway system.

#### KIND OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROPOSED

Combat forces are not to be sent to Greece or Turkey. The military assistance provided in the bill is to consist only of arms and other supplies for the armed forces of Greece and Turkey. These supplies are to be provided on the basis of investigations and recommendations by small military missions sent out by the United States in an advisory capacity only. Testimony of Government witnesses indicates that the military mission to Greece would probably not exceed 40 and the naval mission would probably be less than 30. In the case of Turkey it is expected that the missions would not be larger. Additional information is contained in this report under the heading "Amount and kind of assistance proposed."

## MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

On March 12, 1947, the President appeared before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives and delivered the following message recommending assistance to Greece and Turkey:

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved. One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace-loving country has suffered invasion, 4 years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances, the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel, and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists, and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the Government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece, and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek Army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the Government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid, but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents 85 percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece; and, during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid. Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey. and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To insure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guaranties of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I, therefore, ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece, and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The United States contributed \$341,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

## QUESTION OF REPAYMENT BY GREECE AND TURKEY

The question of repayment by Greece and Turkey of funds spent for the assistance proposed by H. R. 2616 was given careful study by the committee. The following statement submitted to the committee by the Department of State explains the attitude of the Government on this subject:

The bill to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey authorizes the furnishing of financial aid to these countries in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise. The terms upon which such aid is furnished from time to time can best be determined by the President, in the course of administration in the light of full information on all relevant circumstances. It is believed it would not be wise or practical to attempt, in advance, to specify such terms for all possible contingencies in the legislation.

Assistance provided under the bill for military purposes, being essential to our own security, and not in itself creating the wherewithal to repay, should be made as a clear grant. Financial assistance for current civilian consumption should also be a grant since such assistance would not directly produce capital assets. Repayment could be sought, however, when the direct effect of the financial aid is to create capital assets and the ability on the part of the receiving country to meet such obligations in foreign exchange. However, financial repayment obligations should not be established if there appears to be no reasonable prospect of repayment.

Assistance for rehabilitation or reconstruction purposes in Greece may in some cases directly benefit concerns in Greece which are privately owned or controlled, either by domestic or foreign nationals. Any unjust enrichment of private interests as a result of the assistance furnished would be prevented by means of sales or other appropriate financial arrangements between the Greek Government and the concerns, and, to the extent that the assistance furnished creates foreign exchange, the interest of the United States would be adequately safeguarded in accordance with the principle of the preceding paragraph.

## SUPERVISION OF EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS

The organization plans of the American mission to Greece to carry out the provisions of H. R. 2616, have not been completed. The committee has been informed that prompt action would be taken to send a small group of perhaps 25 to 50 persons, headed by a chief of outstanding ability, to initiate the program and to develop the plans in more detail, and to establish the necessary relationships with the Greek Government. No expenditures would be made until specific plans have been developed and have been approved by the United States Government. It is understood that the American mission in Greece would be in a position to carry a large part of the responsibility for this activity. The expenditure in Greece of any funds that may be made available to the Greek Government for the program would be subject to control by the American mission there. Purchases in the United States with the funds made available would be made through the procurement agencies of the United States Government, or, if made otherwise, would be subject to careful supervision and strict control.

Members of the committee expressed the strongest concern that competent persons be sent to Greece to insure the development of controls at key points and to supervise their application.

The committee has been given assurance that our Government will insist that sound policies will be adopted and effectively administered in such matters as fiscal methods, a modern tax structure, strict husbanding and control of the foreign exchange earnings of the Greek people, conservation of remaining gold resources, a restriction on



unessential imports, and the expansion of Greece's exports. These are all essential to the establishment of stability in Greece.

The military programs in Greece and Turkey will be administered through small groups of United States military and naval personnel sent to those countries for that purpose. They would screen requirements and advise in the best application and use of the materials and equipment made available to Greece and Turkey.

#### SAFEGUARDS AGAINST DISSIPATION OF FUNDS

The funds advanced under the bill should not be dissipated through payments on loans to foreign governments. This is covered by the amendment to the bill (sec. 3, subsec. (e)) requiring that as a condition precedent to the receipt of assistance, the recipient government should agree—

not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government.

The committee was assured by the State Department that the Greek Government would be required to take adequate measures to assure the maximum use of its own resources in the program of rehabilitation and reconstruction and the fullest possible support for this program by Greek nationals. The Department of State recalled in this connection the assurances that had been given that the purpose of this legislation is to enable Greece to help itself, and that in the administration of assistance given under the bill adequate guaranties would be required of the Greek Government to assure the carrying out of all steps necessary to the achievement of this purpose.

#### TIME FOR WHICH ASSISTANCE WILL BE GRANTED

The amount of \$400,000,000 authorized under H. R. 2616 would be sufficient to cover expenditures through the period ending June 30, 1948, for the program for both Greece and Turkey. Whether further expenditures may be required for a successful conclusion of the program cannot now be determined. In any event, the successful application of the funds so authorized for Greece and Turkey would improve considerably their economic and their credit position.

#### RELATIONSHIP TO THE \$350,000,000 RELIEF BILL

The assistance proposed in H. R. 2616 is for essential reconstruction, rehabilitation, and technical assistance needs of Greece. It does not duplicate the assistance which would be extended to Greece under provisions of House Joint Resolution 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war. Under provisions of the relief bill, Greece would receive from \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 for minimum requirements to prevent suffering and death from starvation. H. R. 2616 is designed to begin where the relief bill ends, and help the Greek people to start rebuilding their economy, become self-sustaining, and to promote their security and national integrity.

## QUESTION OF ASSISTANCE TO OTHER COUNTRIES

The policy toward Greece and Turkey proposed in H. R. 2616 is in accord with the statement made by the President when he addressed the Congress on March 12, 1947, and said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

It must not be taken for granted that assistance identical with that proposed for Greece and Turkey will be extended to other countries. Any similar situations that may arise in the future must be considered in the light of conditions existing at the time and would, necessarily, require consideration and study by the Congress. A table of appropriations, requested for assistance to foreign countries and a table of estimated expenditures on behalf of foreign countries, appears on page 387 of the hearings on H. R. 2616.

## UNITED STATES ATTITUDE TOWARD EXISTING GOVERNMENTS IN GREECE AND TURKEY

As stated in the beginning of this report, the purpose of the aid proposed is to enable the peoples of Greece and Turkey to maintain their freedom and independence. The Department of State was asked, "Is it our purpose to support the present Greek Government; that is, the monarch? Is it our proposal to support the present Turkish Government? In other words, What will be our attitude toward the domestic control of internal affairs in these countries?" The Department's answer was as follows:

It is our primary purpose to assist the Greek people, so that they may retain the opportunity to choose the form and composition of their Government in accordance with the wish of the majority. This also applies to Turkey. We do not conceive it to be our function to influence the judgment of these two peoples with regard to their Governments. If the Greek people wish to have a king, just as the British wish to have one, and the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Dutch, that is a matter for them to decide.

Whatever we may do to assist Greece and Turkey, we propose scrupulously to respect the sovereignty of those countries with respect to the conduct of their internal as well as their external affairs.

## PROPOSED ASSISTANCE NOT INTERVENTION

The Greek and Turkish Governments have themselves requested the assistance proposed in this bill. Government witnesses testified that the greatest care will be exercised to avoid any action which could be regarded as an infringement on the sovereignty of either country.

## ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY CONSTITUTES A SINGLE PROBLEM

Although manifested in different ways in each country, the pressures being brought to bear against Greece and Turkey spring from the same external sources. Greece and Turkey are so closely linked geographically that a threat against the security of one immediately

becomes an indirect threat against the freedom and independence of the other. Therefore, to extend aid to Greece and deny it to Turkey or vice versa could vitiate the results of the assistance program and ultimately nullify the effects of aid extended to either alone.

#### THE COMMITTEE HEARINGS

The Committee on Foreign Affairs held 17 meetings on H. R. 2616, 9 meetings in open session and 8 in executive session. During these meetings, the committee heard testimony from the following official witnesses:

Hon. Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State.  
 Hon. Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of War.  
 Hon. James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy.  
 Hon. William L. Clayton, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.  
 Hon. John L. Sullivan, Under Secretary of the Navy.  
 Hon. Lincoln MacVeagh, United States Ambassador to Greece.  
 Hon. Edwin C. Wilson, United States Ambassador to Turkey.  
 Hon. Paul A. Porter, Chief, American Economic Mission to Greece.  
 Rear Adm. Frank L. Wooldridge, Assistant Chief Naval Officer for Political Military Affairs.  
 Brig. Gen. George A. Lincoln.  
 Lt. Col. Allen C. Miller, assistant military attaché, United States Embassy, Athens, Greece.

In addition, the committee heard testimony from the Honorable Fred L. Crawford, Representative from the State of Michigan, former Representative Hamilton Fish, and former Representative Edward L. Stokes.

The following persons and organizations also presented their views to the committee:

Charles G. Bolte, American Veterans' Committee.  
 Charles F. Boss, Jr., Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church.  
 Gerard Bye, Philadelphia Youth Council to Oppose Conscription.  
 Henry J. Cadbury, American Friends Service Committee.  
 Henry Pratt Fairchild, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.  
 William C. Gausmann, the Socialist Party.  
 John H. Haas.  
 Hoyt S. Haddock, CIO maritime committee.  
 Samuel Guy Inmann, guest professor, Ohio Wesleyan University.  
 Corliss Lamont, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.  
 Frederick J. Libby, National Council for Prevention of War.  
 Hamilton A. Long.  
 Katharine Lee Marshall, Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom.  
 A. J. Muste, Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
 Frank Olmstead, War Resisters League.  
 Martin Popper, National Lawyers Guild.  
 Walter W. Sikes, Disciples of Christ Churches.  
 Alson J. Smith, Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Russell Smith, National Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America.

Anna Lord Strauss, League of Women Voters of the United States.

Mabel Vernon, People's Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation.

Max Winkler.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

Section 1 of the bill authorizes the President, upon the request of the Governments of Greece and Turkey and when he deems it in the national interest, to furnish assistance to these countries upon terms and conditions determined by him. The assistance authorized includes financial aid in the forms of loans, credits, grants, or other form of financial aid; the detail of persons in the employ of the Government to assist those countries; the detail of a limited number of members of the military services of the United States, to assist in an advisory capacity only; and provision for the transfer and procurement of articles, services, and information and for the instruction and training of personnel of those countries. The effect of the clause "notwithstanding the provisions of any other law," in section 1, is to insure that statutes inconsistent with or partially dealing with the subject matter covered by the provisions of this section be not construed so as to prohibit the effective carrying out of the terms of the section.

Persons detailed under the authority of section 1 are entitled to the rights, privileges, benefits, and status authorized under existing legislation with respect to persons, civilian or military, as the case may be, detailed to assist the Governments specified in such legislation, without limitation of the authority of the President to provide for the detail of such persons in a manner which will permit the most effective administration in the field of the programs of assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Section 2 permits the speediest and most effective use, in terms of assistance needed by Greece and Turkey, of such funds as are authorized in the bill. Subsection (a) prescribes the manner of allocation of funds to the agencies of the Government through which the President may act to provide assistance. Subsection (b) empowers the President to authorize the agencies of the Government to furnish such assistance on the basis of advance payments. By virtue of subsection (c), when any property which is surplus to the needs of any agency of the Government is transferred to Greece or Turkey under the bill, any funds received in payment therefor are required to be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts. The purpose of subsection (d) of section 2 is to prohibit the furnishing of any articles or services to Greece and Turkey under the bill unless they are paid for either from funds authorized by the bill or from funds paid in advance by the government receiving such articles or services.

Section 3 provides that before assistance is furnished, the Governments of Greece and Turkey shall agree to certain reasonable undertakings, consistent with the sovereign independence of these countries, which provide the United States with proper safeguards against the improper use of the assistance furnished. These undertakings include permission to appropriate representatives of the United States Government to observe the utilization of the assistance furnished, and per-

mission to representatives of the American press and radio to observe freely and report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance. Such conditions are, of course, intended to maintain, rather than impair the sovereign independence or internal security of the two countries. Other conditions are that the governments receiving assistance shall not make unauthorized transfer or use of articles, or unauthorized use or disclosure of any information furnished to them; shall make such security provisions as the President may require with respect to any article, service, or information furnished; and shall not use the proceeds of any financial aid for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such Governments by any other foreign government.

In order that the most urgent needs for assistance may be promptly met, section 4 of the bill authorizes the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make available not to exceed \$100,000,000 until such time as an appropriation shall be made to carry out the purposes of the bill. This section also authorizes the appropriation of not to exceed \$400,000,000 from which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation shall be repaid for the funds made available by it.

Under section 5 the President is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the bill and to exercise any power or authority conferred upon him through such agency or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

Section 6 (sec. 7 of the amended bill) provides for the submission by the President of quarterly reports to the Congress of expenditures and activities under the authority of the bill.

During its consideration of the bill the committee approved nine amendments.

#### COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS TO H. R. 2616

1. The first amendment consists of the addition of the following language at the end of subsection 2 of section 1:

*Provided, however,* That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this Act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Its purpose is for obvious security reasons.

2. The second amendment is identical with an amendment adopted by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to S. 938, and is designed to clarify the authority conferred on the President to incur and defray necessary expenses incident to carrying out this program. In addition, the term "necessary expenses" is expressly stated to include administrative expenses and compensation of personnel. This amendment was recommended by the legal counsels of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the State Department.

The amendment: In section 2 (a) delete, after the word "Act", the comma and the words "and any necessary expenses related thereto" and the comma thereafter. In section 1, delete the word "and" at the end of subsection (3) and at the end of subsection (4), delete the comma, insert a semicolon and the word "and" and insert thereafter a new subsection (5) reading as follows:

(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

3. The third amendment was suggested to the committee by the General Accounting Office, and consists of the deletion of the words "by it" from the last line of subsection (a) of section 2. The recommendation of the General Accounting Office was as follows:

The underscored words (by it) in the above-quoted provision imply that appropriations, funds, or accounts may be established by the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, whereas such accounts actually are established by the General Accounting Office pursuant to law and in cooperation with the Treasury Department.

In order to avoid any possible doubt or confusion in the administration of section 2, it is suggested, for the consideration of your committee, that the words "by it" in line 4, page 3, of H. R. 2616 (original print of the bill) be deleted.

4. The fourth amendment is simply a clarifying amendment to subsection (b) of section 2. The wording "accounts for such countries established for the purpose" has been changed by the amendment to read "such countries in accounts established for the purpose."

5. The fifth amendment is identical with a Senate amendment to section 3, and would require the recipient governments, as a condition precedent to receiving assistance, to agree not to use the financial assistance granted in order to make payments on their debts to foreign countries. The purpose of the amendment is clear and the committee agreed the objective is a desirable one.

The amendment: Delete the word "and" at the end of subsection (c) of section 3, strike out the period after the word "Act" at the end of subsection (d), insert a semicolon and the following new subsection:

and (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government;

6. The sixth amendment was adopted by the committee to insure that proper and full credit is given to the United States in Greece and Turkey for the aid extended to those countries, by providing that full and continuous publicity be given in those countries "as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein \* \* \*".

The amendment: After subsection (3) of section 3, add a new subsection as follows:

and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this Act.

7. The seventh amendment contains the "Vandenberg amendment" which has been adopted by the Senate in its consideration of S. 938. Its purpose is to demonstrate beyond any possible question the good faith of the United States and the loyalty of our Government to the United Nations and the ideals for which it stands. The United States is responding to the appeal of Greece and Turkey inasmuch as the United Nations is not yet in a position to render the kind of assistance required at the present time. By this amendment, however, our Government invites action by the United Nations and indicates its willingness to withdraw any or all aid authorized by the bill whenever the United Nations, by action of either the Security Council or the General Assembly, finds that its own program of action or of assistance to Greece and Turkey make the continuance of American assistance unnecessary or undesirable. Moreover, with

respect to any such vote in the Security Council the United States would expressly waive the exercise of any veto.

The "Vandenberg amendment" comprises subsections (1), (2), and (3); of section 5 of the bill. The committee added another subsection, (4), designed to further strengthen the safeguards of section 3 of the bill.

The amendment: At the end of section 5, insert the following:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

(2) If the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment; and

(4) If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.

8. The eighth amendment, which is self-explanatory, consists of adding a new section 6 and changing the number of the present section 6 to 7.

The amendment:

SEC. 6. Assistance to any country under this Act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

9. The ninth amendment is designed to make possible a closer check by the Congress of the assistance extended to Greece and Turkey pursuant to the provisions of this bill by requiring that the quarterly reports of the President to the Congress shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments.

The amendment: In the last section of the bill, numbered 7 as amended, after the word "activities" insert "which shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments."

#### COMPLIANCE OF REPORT WITH RAMSEYER RULE

Section 1 of H. R. 2616 provides that provisions of the act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, and the act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such acts, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to paragraphs 2 and 3 of H. R. 2616.

In accordance with clause 2a of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, there are included in this report the applicable provisions of those two acts.

Provisions of the act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended:

*Provided further*, That while so detailed, such person shall be considered, for the purpose of preserving his rights and privileges as such, an officer or employee of the Government of the United States and of the department or agency from which detailed and shall continue to receive therefrom compensation, and he may receive additional compensation from the department or agency from which detailed not to exceed 50 per centum of the compensation he was receiving as an officer or employee of the United States at the time of detail, and shall receive

from the United States reimbursement for travel expenses to and from the place of detail and monthly allowances determined by the President to be adequate for quarters and subsistence during the period of such detail.

Provisions of the act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended:

*Provided*, That the officers and enlisted men so detailed be, and they are hereby, authorized to accept from the government to which detailed offices and such compensation and emoluments thereunto appertaining as may be first approved by the Secretary of War or by the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be: *Provided further*, That while so detailed such officers and enlisted men shall receive, in addition to the compensation and emoluments allowed them by such governments, the pay and allowances whereto entitled in the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps and shall be allowed the same credit for longevity, retirement, and for all other purposes that they would receive if they were serving with the forces of the United States.

#### UNITED STATES NOT ASSUMING BRITISH OBLIGATIONS

It is quite clear to the committee that the proposed legislation is not based in any way upon the idea that the United States should assume the obligations or take over any position which Great Britain may have had in either Greece or Turkey. Rather, this legislation would enable the United States to pursue a positive policy of its own in its own interest, in the interest of Greece and Turkey, and in the interest of world peace based on the principles of the United Nations. In extending aid of the character proposed, the United States would not be underwriting the position of any other power or interfering with the legitimate interests of any other power.

#### EXTENT OF PREVIOUS AID BY THE UNITED STATES

##### *Greece*

The United States Government has made available to the Greek Government up to the beginning of 1947 approximately \$451,500,000, as indicated below. This includes the United States share of UNRRA shipments to Greece, amounting to \$255,000,000 (excluding freight). Of this total of \$451,500,000, approximately \$56,000,000 is available for further use in the future.

##### *United States aid to Greece*

(In millions of dollars)

United States agency	Authorized	Disbursed	Remainder available
Export-Import Bank .....	\$25.0	\$5.2	\$19.8
OFIC surplus credit .....	45.0	23.8	21.2
Maritime Commission .....	45.0	30.0	15.0
Lend-Lease .....	81.5	81.5	-----
Total .....	196.5	140.5	56.0
UNRRA .....	255.0	-----	-----
Total .....	451.5	-----	-----

##### *Turkey*

A summary of United States aid from the beginning of the war to January 31, 1947, shows that the United States Government has made available to Turkey \$130,979,811, of which \$101,051,769 has been disbursed, leaving \$29,928,042 available for further use.



UNRRA, to which the United States contributed, has made no advances to Turkey.

*Summary*

United States agency	Authorized	Disbursed	Remainder available
<b>Export-Import Bank:</b>			
Westinghouse.....	\$3,060,000		\$3,060,000
Exporter credit.....	25,000,000	\$4,905,440	20,094,560
OFLC credits.....	10,000,000	3,226,518	6,773,482
Lend-Lease.....	90,000,000	90,000,000	
Maritime Commission.....	2,919,811	2,919,811	
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>130,979,811</b>	<b>101,051,769</b>	<b>29,928,042</b>

\* In addition, the Turkish Government received \$5,000,000 in lend-lease articles for which it paid cash.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEM

The United Nations was created to maintain peace and promote human rights. The action proposed in H. R. 2616 is consistent with and implements the basic objectives of the United Nations Charter. The assistance to Greece and Turkey requested by the President is designed to create conditions of political and economic stability which will preserve the freedom and independence of Greece and Turkey.

The Greek Government has requested the assistance of both the United States and the United Nations and a commission appointed by the Security Council is due to report in the near future on the disturbed conditions along the northern Greek border. It is our belief that this report will demonstrate the need for this aid.

The type of assistance which Greece and Turkey have asked the United States to furnish cannot be extended now by the United Nations. Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson said in his testimony before the committee (p. 3 of the hearings) that—

The crisis in Greece and Turkey confronts us with only two alternatives. We can either grant aid to those countries or we can deny that aid. There is no possibility of putting the responsibility for extending the aid which Greece has asked from the United States on some other nation or upon the United Nations.

At the present moment, the United Nations is without funds or resources to meet any acute need or condition in the world, and is without the peace-maintaining military organization provided for in the Charter.

The problems faced by Greece and Turkey are attributable to the same causes which are responsible for delaying the full development of the United Nations.

The first-aid assistance provided by this bill would pave the way for other types of aid which may eventually be rendered under the auspices of the United Nations, as indicated by the comprehensive recommendations of the Food and Agriculture Organization's mission for Greece.

PEACE PROMOTED BY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The proposed assistance to Greece and Turkey is aimed at the establishment and maintenance of political and economic security and would be a positive move for the preservation of world peace, through the encouragement it would give in all regions of the world to the forces promoting the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

If such pressures as are now being exerted against Greece and Turkey were permitted to result in the loss of independence of those countries, similar political disorder and economic disruption might easily spread, thus endangering the peace of the world.

#### CONCLUSION

The committee is convinced that the national integrity of the Greek and Turkish peoples is being challenged and threatened by circumstances beyond their control. Powerful pressures are being exerted against both countries by outside elements which seek control without regard to the principles guaranteed by the United Nations Charter. These pressures are being exerted at a time when the United Nations, certain of its functional powers undeveloped through delay inspired by the same sources, is not equipped to establish political and economic stability in that area.

The proposed legislation would enable the United States, in this crisis, to support the United Nations by pursuing a positive policy in behalf of Greece and Turkey, in its own interest and in the interest of maintaining world peace based on the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs urges the enactment of H. R. 2616 as expeditiously as possible.

## ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF MR. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK

With the enactment of this bill, the United States will have begun the assumption of world responsibilities which will determine the fate of civilization for a century and whether we shall have peace in our time; for it is the very essence of the bill that we now consider our frontiers to be in the Pindus Mountains of Greece and on the Turkish shores of the Black Sea. There are two justifications given for undertaking this responsibility: (1) To stop at an early moment the onward march of a Communist ideology which is opposed to the freedom of the individual and the private economy which are the basis of our system; and (2) to obtain an opportunity for the reconstruction of the nations of the world free from the pressure of hunger and despair so that they shall have a chance to choose the kind of society they want without being forcibly seized from within in the interim by a Communist minority. But this program, I believe most will agree, should have been undertaken through the United Nations if the United Nations were in a position to carry the burdens involved. This, it is said, the United Nations cannot do. If we are to assume that to be the case, we must at least endeavor to fortify the United Nations in every respect in which we can do so without compromising the essential objectives of this legislation.

The hope of our world lies not in unilateral but in collective action. Unilateral action, whether of defense or offense, has inevitably led to war. The League of Nations failed to save us from war but we were not a member of the League. We are a member of the United Nations and its strongest member. If it fails, we fail. In order to carry out in the bill these fundamental principles, it requires amendment in three respects:

(1) To initiate a proceeding before the United Nations simultaneously with giving assistance to Turkey, which will put efforts to relieve the pressure on Turkey at least on a parity with the procedure taken through the appointment by the Security Council of the Balkan Inquiry Commission to relieve the external pressure on Greece. It is noteworthy that already the northern border of Greece is being sealed off through the mere fact of having a United Nations inquiry, even before there is a report. If Turkey is under enough of such pressure to warrant United States aid then she is also under enough such pressure to warrant consideration of the situation by the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations and the initiation of measures to relieve that pressure. At least then we would be doing all we could to get the United Nations into the problem with a view toward a solution at the same time that we are initiating United States aid to Turkey.

(2) To require as a condition of relief that the people of any country assisted shall have a government supported by a majority of them. If we are seeking to help democracy as contrasted

with communism then we must strive for democratic and representative governments in the countries which we assist, and if it is impractical to obtain immediately the reform of existing regimes, at least we must be trying to do so.

(3) To provide, as a condition for continuing our assistance, that each country benefited shall take all economic and governmental action possible to advance its own reconstruction. Unless such an amendment is adopted the whole purpose of the assistance granted may be negated through imprudent policies of the government assisted on such matters as taxation, fiscal and currency policy, wage and price relationships and utilization of foreign exchange.

As we take this momentous step in American foreign policy, we must show our skill and capacity in respect to the administration of the policy to be commensurate with its importance.

JACOB K. JAVITS.

## MINORITY VIEWS OF MR. SMITH OF WISCONSIN

The undersigned respectfully disagrees with the majority members of the committee which has reported the bill.

Justification for enactment of the bill must be found in President Truman's speech of March 12 to the Congress. He said: "The foreign policy and the national security are involved." Aside from pointing out the "deplorable situation" in Greece, politically and economically, and the threat to Turkish sovereignty, he was strangely silent as to just how our own national security is involved. Greece and Turkey are a long way from the United States of America.

There can be no doubt that the President has embarked upon a new foreign policy for this country. He now seeks congressional approval, so it is up to us. One writer has said that it is a global anti-Communist policy. It is far more extensive than the Monroe Doctrine and, historically, more uncertain and much more dangerous. This is what he said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.

The implications of this policy are so great that even the President's advisers in the State and Armed Services Departments refused to venture a guess as to what it will cost or where it will ultimately lead. If the bill is adopted in its present form it will commit the United States to unlimited expenditures of money and resources and call for military expeditions in an effort to support free peoples all over the world. It is the certain course to imperialism and the imposition of permanent conscription upon our people.

It is quite obvious that Mr. Truman has failed to consider all the implications of his policy at home and abroad. At home, wide segments of our people oppose this program because of this uncertainty. Abroad, many nations other than Russia wonder if this plan will ultimately affect them or interfere with their policies. Historians tell us that President Monroe took no such chance when he announced the Monroe Doctrine. He sounded out those nations that might become involved in such a policy. He was absolutely sure of all the implications involved. This is not the case with the President.

This issue is now squarely before the people. Under our form of government the Congress will accept or reject the "Truman policy." We believe the evidence submitted in support of it fails to meet the burden of proof. It is designed, so we are informed, to "stop the onward rush of communism." This is wishful thinking and propaganda aimed to gain popular support. More about that later.

The President has said that the situation in Greece and Turkey is a threat to our "national security" and hence we must appropriate \$400,000,000 to stop the rush of communism. In Greece, communistic bands in the north, aided by Tito and other pro-Soviet leaders, threaten the established Government in Greece. The situation in Turkey is different, in that some 20 Russian divisions are massed on

the border and the preservation of its integrity is essential to order in the Middle East. The internal situations in these countries are entirely different. The Greeks are in a bad way, financially and politically, but that is nothing new. Since 1823, historians say that Greece has been sustained by loans from other countries. The British, French, Germans, and Italians have at some time bolstered the economy of that nation. Now it is proposed that we, in time of peace, should step in and carry the burden which the others left off.

Turkey has a strong government, politically and economically, and its only need is for modern military equipment. Weapons which it has are obsolete, and new arms call for instruction by men who have led modern armies.

With utmost respect, I challenge the President's sincerity when he calls upon us to stop communism in those countries because it is a threat to our national security. We yield to no one in our desire to stop communism, for it is a diabolic ideology; it is un-Christian, and would set up a police state to govern men. Is it not, however, wholly inconsistent to stop communism in Turkey and Greece, at an original investment of 400 million dollars, while communism is rampant in these United States? And how much money would the President invest to stamp out communism in this country? He has suggested that it would cost 50 million dollars. What kind of consistency is this, 400 million abroad and 50 million at home?

The fact is that President Truman does not fear the spread of communism in this country at all. He has said so in plain, understandable language. In reply to ex-Gov. George H. Earle, of Pennsylvania, he said in part:

People are very much wrought up about the Communist "bugaboo," but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe so far as communism is concerned—we have too many sane people.

In this country the President says communism is a bug-a-boo, but in Turkey and Greece it's a threat to our national security. This is utter nonsense. It is a wholly inconsistent position and especially so when it is recalled that on March 22 Mr. Truman issued an Executive order that Communists and Communist sympathizers be removed from their Government jobs because they are a threat to "our democratic processes." What kind of hocus-pocus and double talk is this?

If there is a threat to our security it comes by way of pressure by Russia upon Greece and Turkey. Russia wants a share in the control of the Dardanelles and the Middle East oil fields. It could well be that there is this threat, but the President did not predicate his request upon that premise. He is avoiding the real issue. His responsibility is to spell out clearly that our objective is a military one. There is hardly any proof that it aims to put down communism.

I am opposed to this bill because:

1. It is uncertain as to scope and cost.
2. It is a serious threat to our entire social and economic structure, as it will eventually lead to war. It could easily bankrupt the Nation.
3. Aggressive action against Russia will result in dividing the world into two armed forces. This would lead to an unbridled race for armaments. War and bankruptcy would be certain.
4. There is no justification for bypassing the United Nations Organization, even though we believed it was important to act.

If we believe in collective security, that Organization should have been requested to act. We have now dealt it a blow from which it can never recover.

President Truman came to the Congress on March 12 and said we were suddenly in the middle of an international crisis and something must be done about it before the end of the month as the British were pulling out. Almost 30 days have elapsed, and nothing has happened. Members of this committee know that the State Department was well aware as to what was happening in Greece, and this knowledge is certainly chargeable to the President. What kind of leadership is this?

Felix Morley, Human Events, March 5, 1947, said:

As the sun sinks slowly on the British Empire it would seem time for the American people to ask themselves, very seriously, whether their leadership in the last 10 years has been sufficiently forthright or sufficiently intelligent to encourage trust and confidence now.

The test will come on the vote for or against this bill. If Members of this Congress hear the voices of their constituents it will be an emphatic "No."

How long will it take to realize the limits of our possibilities to help the world? In World War I, it was to sacrifice in order to make the world safe for democracy. Our treasure in life and property was shed unselfishly upon that altar. Then we defeated German militarism and the Kaiser. From 1939 to 1941 we "inched" our way into World War II. Then it was to destroy Hitler and nazism; under the Atlantic Charter we were pledged to eliminate fear from the world and to make peace and freedom secure. In 1941 we became an ally with Russia; we furnished it with that military equipment which ultimately helped to drive the Germans to defeat. We have sacrificed billions of dollars, thousands of lives, and untold and irreplaceable resources in this last war. For what? That is what troubles our people today; that is why they are confused.

The time has now come to save our own land and the heritage we received. The world looks to us for leadership; but if we become weak and impotent, if we dissipate our resources and spread ourselves too thinly, it will look elsewhere for that leadership, to the next strong nation. Call this what you will; but we believe it is realism, in the light of world conditions. To follow the President means that we are again embarking upon a course that calls for the exercise of force, not in the United States but thousands of miles from it. It will not make for peace—but war.

The Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy recently said that before other foreign grants or loans are considered by our Government we should take stock to find out (a) what we have, (b) what we need to maintain our own life, (c) what is sought of us abroad, and (d) what good purpose it will serve. The preponderance of the testimony by top-flight Government officials who appeared in support of this legislation indicated that they have no idea as to what we have or what will be the upshot of the policy advocated in this measure. Secretary of War Patterson was frank to admit that if the objective sought in this legislation was not achieved he did not know what our policy would be from then on. Obviously, it could only lead to increased military preparation and untold additional expenditures of money.

Our foreign policy should rest upon a real desire to maintain peace and to make secure our own system under which this country has grown and developed to a greater extent than any other on the face of the earth. We, of course, must resist the encroachment of communism which seeks to destroy this country. If this is really our purpose, it is essential that we survey our resources, which should be done before any further commitments are considered. It has been pointed out that there are approximately \$100,000,000,000 in short-term internal obligations, and in view of this situation the United States cannot possibly finance resistance to other systems of government to the extent and for the period proposed or required without impoverishing this Nation. Even with the expenditure of all of the money today, there is no definite assurance that we can meet the objective sought in this bill. If we impoverish ourselves we will be in extreme danger of a forced importation of the very political philosophy we are trying to check elsewhere.

I believe the wise policy is to keep the American way of life as strong as our resources can make it. This is the way for the United States. Let us face the issue without equivocation.

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.

